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13 August 1980

MEMORANDUM FOR: Director, National Foreign Assessment Center
Deputy Director, National Foreign Assessment Center
Chairman, National Intelligence Council

FROM: Director of Central Intelligence

SUBJECT: Preparation for Next Administration

1. Looking ahead to the transition to the next Administration (be it Democratic or Republican), I wonder if it would be helpful for us to try to develop a limited number of papers giving our macro view of directions in which the various forces in the world may be tending. You all have much more experience with transitions than I do. I sense that a new Carter Administration should and probably would be receptive to a basic review of our approach to foreign policy for the next four years. I suspect that a new Republican Administration would need quickly to grasp the difference between campaign rhetoric and what the bureaucracy believes so as to decide how hard to come down where. []

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2. I have attached a list of five possible papers. If we did them, they would have to utilize first-class talent; end up being the DCI's personal expression; not get bogged down or watered down in seeking consensus; but leave room for expression of dissent, either from within the Agency or from the rest of the Intelligence Community. []

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3. As soon as I get back from leave I'd like to go over this with whichever of you is holding the fort. []

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for STANSFIELD TURNER

Attachment

cc: DDCI

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Possible Papers in Preparation for Next Administration:

-- The Third World. This might be divided into African, Latin American and Asian sections but would address questions of population, food, political stability, the role of the military, nation building, the distribution of mineral resources, the potential for development of a non-oil "OPEC" among these nations, allocation of resources within nations, and so forth. We ought to be able to look ahead and see where these trends are carrying us and what cross currents might be identifiable at this point.

-- The Soviet Union. The OSR/OER/OPA interoffice project on Soviet military and economic capabilities provides a leg up on data relevant to current and near-term political, economic and military circumstances. A paper for this project would tie together this data and add to it our best view on Soviet intentions, strategies, the succession in its larger terms, the impact of demographic trends as well as possible tradeoffs between economic development and military spending, and so forth. Such an essay would address where the Soviets might go in the absence of a SALT agreement, their future use of surrogates along the lines of the Cubans, and other strategies they may come up with to exploit opportunities and Western weaknesses in the next ten years.

-- Europe. There are important forces at work in Europe leading away from the United States, although not necessarily toward a pro-Soviet position. Such a paper would have to address not only political and economic trends but also what currents are at work with regard to bilateral and multilateral European military cooperation and co-production, tendencies of European military strategies, the forces unleashed in Europe by the rising of the postwar generation with little memory of the role the United States played following the war, and economic pressures being felt in Europe. Distinction would probably have to be made between northern and southern Europe in many of these areas.

-- International Economics. This could be one of the most important papers as it would summarize succinctly what has happened since the 1973 oil embargo and look to future trends involving food, mineral and water resources, the future of the international monetary system, the commodities trade in its larger forms and the consequences of scarcities. It could talk about the impact of worldwide inflation, particularly in the West, but also for its unseen effect in the Communist countries, and so on.

-- China and Asia. This would address the long-term consequences of North Vietnam's aggressive policies in Southeast Asia, questions of Chinese development including whether China can be expected to continue the recent more pragmatic policies of development, the impact on Asia of continued tension between China and Vietnam, the role of Japan and the prospects for a larger military role by Japan, the prospects for Japanese reconciliation with the Soviets and/or great development programs with the Chinese, prospects for Indonesia, and so forth.

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